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God grant, therefore, that there may sweep over America a great awakening of this type of religion. History records revivals the effects of which have been far-reaching and profound. Is not the time ripe again? Is not the heart of the nation mellowed by the sufferings, the consecrations, and the vast idealism of this great war? Indeed, are there not signs that such a revival is all but here? Who will be Peter the Hermit for this crusade? What gathering will prove its Council of Clermont? *Deus vult!*

The importance of such a revitalizing of the spiritual situation can be appreciated only from the standpoint of conclusions reached in the first half of this article. If we are wrong in anticipating a reconstruction of the first magnitude, then it is no matter. But we cannot be wrong! This war is being fought to liberate the chrysalis into the butterfly

and impose a new law upon human life. The Germans appeal to the law of the survival of the fittest. If one looks to the past the validity of that law cannot be denied. But a new law supplants it. Water contracts with cold till it reaches the freezing-point, whereupon it expands! Similarly the strongest survive in the struggle until a certain degree of social crystallization is reached, when lo! it is the most co-operative and mutually helpful that survive. To this higher law we appeal. The Germans are wrong; for our part, it is a Christian world that we demand. And that will mean—one hardly dares to imagine how much it will mean at home, besides merely to defeat the Kaiser abroad! But if that Christian world is to come soon, safely, and without intervening tragedy we must all “search our hearts,” as President Wilson has suggested.

II. THE CHURCH AND THE COMING SOCIAL MOVEMENT

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I

The war has brought about amazing social emergencies and is forcing the United States and the world into the most radical and far-reaching forms of co-operative effort. It has seen an unprecedented advance of labor organization and collective bargaining, the eight-hour day, fixing of wages to meet advancing cost of living, equal pay for

women, modern standards of housing and of welfare conditions in war industries, social insurance, and federal organization for unemployment. National control of capital, industry, labor power, food production, conservation, and distribution, which would have been impossible two years ago, have been forced by war conditions. It has also witnessed an enormous development of social

effort, especially of that larger democratic effort by which organizations of citizens co-operate with the government. The entire nation has been put to training in social service.

It is now apparent that the war will be followed by an era of social action on a large scale, which will steadily increase in power. One is not extravagant who forecasts that the dominance of profiteering and personal indulgence is coming to an end, and that in the not distant future the absorbing concern of the nation will be for social justice and the progress of the masses of the people. To accomplish these objectives the full power of the people through federal, state, county, township, and municipal government and through a vast co-operation of social agencies will be brought to bear.

II

One is helped to an understanding of what is coming by thinking first in terms of actual social welfare instead of the methods by which it may be attained. Many of these objectives are now clearly defined, and great progress has been made toward their accomplishment.

1. *The abolition of poverty.*—Poverty will be reduced to an inconsiderable and diminishing minimum—the wretched poverty, not only of the underfed, poorly housed, meanly clothed dependents of modern civilization, but of those millions who live in the borderland of the submerged, those who cannot get ahead, who live from hand to mouth, who are thrown into poverty by illness, old age, or death, who cannot pay their way to the privileges which all should enjoy. Collective action extending over a com-

paratively short period can make an end of this wretchedness and tragedy.

2. *The problem of distribution.*—Efficiency of production has now reached a stage at which, while the possibilities of increased production are immense, the emphasis must be upon distribution; a distribution of the products of the common labor of the world which will be not only more just but better adjusted to the needs of various social groups. We cannot in the future permit the glaring social contrasts of low wages, poverty, and grinding self-denial on the one hand and luxury and overindulgence on the other. The primary consideration cannot be property rights and the legal sanction of large incomes, but the welfare of the masses of the people.

3. *Public health.*—Poverty is as deeply rooted in disease as in economic wrongs. The modern health movement has set itself the task of sanitary conditions of living, of wholesome, abundant, and balanced diet, of the control of the great plagues which afflict humanity, such as tuberculosis, typhoid, pneumonia, and venereal infections. What has been accomplished with smallpox and yellow fever will be accomplished with each of these in a few generations at most. The effects upon the happiness, economic resources, and industrial productivity of the nation will be incalculable.

4. *Control of vice.*—Poverty, disease, and vice often walk together. The end of alcoholism in the United States is now in sight. Gambling is fast disappearing. Crime and juvenile delinquency are no longer merely receiving rough handling; society is learning their medication. The General Medical Board has practically eradicated syphilis and gonorr-

rhea from the Army in France. That which has been done for the Army can and will be done behind the trenches back at home.

5. *Public recreation.*—Wholesome and abundant recreation for all the people, universal vacations, rest for wives and mothers, the short-hour day even for business men, maids, and farm workers, education in the use of leisure time—these are written large in the program of the future.

6. *The extension of democracy.*—Just ahead is a rapid and determined extension of democratic ideas and principles to religion, social life, education, industrial management, politics, and control of material resources. The purposes which inspire the movement are to make the privileges of the few the possession of many, as the political rights of the English nobility were passed on to the commons; and to destroy, by higher ideals of the dignity of life and by the increased influence of the workers, the contempt which the so-called upper classes feel for the so-called lower classes.

7. *Improvement in public administration, especially of municipal administration, and a widening of its spheres of action.*—The war has shown the nation what can be accomplished for the common good by a larger use of the machinery of government. Can we fail to learn the lessons of the control of venereal diseases, of the discipline and physical upbuilding of millions of young men, of the rapid training in skilled trades of other millions, of food production, conservation, and distribution, of the rationing of steel and coal, of restraint upon luxuries, of drastic taxation for war emergencies, of the influence of an ad-

ministration upon national ideals and conscience, of the training of the people in the sacrifice of nonessentials for essentials? Can we ever forget the price we have had to pay for partisan government in war time and for untrained and inexperienced officials? Some of the most vital tasks of the period following the war will be to perfect the machinery of federal, state, and municipal governments in the United States; to lift them out of partisan politics; to make official position not a political career but a profession.

8. *International co-operation.*—The war has also made it clear that the safety of the world is absolutely dependent on international organization, based upon friendship and good-will and also upon adequate power, and involving worldwide industrial co-operation. Here rests the hope of disarmament, the end of all war, and the larger prosperity and happiness of every nation.

III

This era of powerful social action which is certain to follow the war will take in the main one or the other of two forms of expression, although each will divide as now into more or less radical movements.

One will be radical and revolutionary, after the type of Russian Bolshevism. It will be opportunist under necessity, but ready at any favorable opportunity to go the whole length of social revolution.

The other will be conservatively radical and evolutionary, following the British idea of constitutional democracy, which is, "Continuous evolution from one social state to another, retaining at

each step enough of the old system to keep economic life functioning continuously, progress being achieved, not chiefly by force, but by education, agitation, and information." The one is class-conscious—bitterly and doctrinally class-conscious—after the idea of the Bolsheviks, the I.W.W., and the Social Democratic party; the other is comprehensive, following the program of the British Labor party, which aims to unite all workers, whether of hand or of brain. The one is program democracy, the other genetic democracy.

Any of the social objectives mentioned in the previous catalogue may be attained by either of these methods. It is not a question of patching up an old system or of building a new, as impatient thinkers like to say, but a choice of roads to the same destination. For example, a socialist society may abolish poverty by making an end of the wage system, setting up collective ownership and operation, and dividing the products of labor so that each shall have an abundance of life's fundamental necessities and many of its luxuries. Or poverty may be abolished under existing forms of social organization by the minimum wage, federal control of unemployment, government projects such as forestry, irrigation, and road-building to take up the unemployed in slack periods, industrial education, social insurance, old-age and mothers' pensions, the short-hour day, high wages, equal wages for women, control of disease and vice, and graduated taxation for public purposes.

The same principle will apply to each of the other social objectives mentioned. Certain great infections have already been brought under control. Gambling

and drunkenness are disappearing vices in the present order of society. The short-hour day is now firmly established in the United States, provision for public recreation is becoming abundant, and recreation is being made educational and ethical as well as recreative. Democracy is expanding with bewildering rapidity. It is revolutionizing the churches, lifting women to an equal status with men, and forcing industrial democracy to the stage of an irrepressible movement. Industrial democracy may be obtained through collective bargaining and co-operation in ownership and management as well as by the co-operative commonwealth, and without the immense and unreachable tyranny of the latter. The decade preceding the war witnessed a swift advance in municipal government in the United States, and as the war has progressed the determination to create a league of democratic nations to enforce peace has become one of the controlling ideas of the conflict.

We shall each have to choose between these two methods: between the Russian idea and the British idea, between program democracy and genetic democracy. Personally I unhesitatingly take my place with the English method. I have learned in practical administration to distrust administrative prevision which reaches far in advance. Things never come out as the wisest men plan them. Too many factors are involved, and society is ever advancing and changing from within as well as from without. Nobody can know what the future society will be. I fear men who are willing to revolutionize the world quickly and to stake the lives of millions on the accuracy of their judgments. I could

wish a nation no greater evil than to fall under the administration of agitators. They are usually devoted men but theorists and extremists, valuable as agitators but dangerous as governors.

The Bolsheviki are a case in point. Granting their sincerity and the difficulties under which they have worked, a tyro in administration might have known what would happen. They betrayed the democracies of the world in their hour of travail. In their fanaticism they looked upon President Wilson and the United States as upon the Kaiser and Germany. To them they were but capitalist states and capitalist rulers. They staked the safety of Russia upon their theories, and millions have died and will die from starvation as a consequence. They demoralized industry and transportation. They deliberately destroyed the discipline of the army, demobilized in the face of the enemy, opened their frontiers to the most unscrupulous and undemocratic of powers, and now find themselves struggling to re-create an army, and advocating universal military service. They carried the class-conscious idea to its logical conclusions, created a new and arbitrary government by a fraction of the population composed of workingmen and soldiers, suppressed freedom of speech and the press, murdered officers, confiscated the property of opposing classes, and slaughtered without trial until the tyranny of the German was preferable to their excesses.

No man should ever again advocate the class-conscious struggle, certainly not in democratic nations. It is un-Christian, undemocratic, tyrannical, and self-destructive, justifiable only when the constitutional method is impossible.

Society has advanced far enough, at least in the Anglo-Saxon countries, to justify constitutional methods and to allow the direction of education toward collective action for the welfare of all classes.

Social changes are also safer and surer, from the point of view of the public welfare, when they proceed by experimental methods. It would be wiser, for example, for the people to try out government operation of railroads and to create efficient public management of such an industry before nationalizing mines and other great industries. It would be wiser, in order to see how it works to allow the workers in a given industry to direct it themselves, to experiment upon some limited branch of the government service, before giving the principle of guild or craft socialism a wider application. The test of any social theory will be finally its effectiveness, its economy, its relation to the progress of the masses, and not its logical character or its sentimental appeal.

But if we are to choose the English method of constitutional democracy we must be in earnest about it, as the English have been. The danger of genetic democracy is that it may fall into the control of the conservatives, and that it may not be constructive and effectively radical. The welfare and rights of the masses of the people are imperative. The suffering and losses in the existing state of things are so great that temporizing is out of the question. Reactionary people, profiteers, favored classes entrenched behind privileges, who will not share in the program of democracy, must be reached by education and by the organized power of society acting as a whole.

IV

What is the place of the church in the coming social movement?

Unfortunately the thinking of the church has not, as yet, crystallized on this subject, although it is fast doing so, and effective machinery for its social action has as yet to be largely created. A considerable body of people, mainly laymen, still think that the function of the church is wholly evangelism. They have not had sufficient training in theology and in introspection to realize that they hold to a doctrinal concept of salvation, and they have not as yet distinguished between the evangelism of decision for Christ by mature individuals and the evangelism of Christian nurture. They seem to miss wholly the significance of Christ's wonderful ministry of social service.

A larger body of religious people believe in social service, but they have not given it its place in the scheme of the gospel. Social service is something new and strange and incidental. It is a way to a man's soul by the indirection of his physical needs. They have a divided consciousness, the big spiritual welfare, near and imperative; the distant social welfare, unintegrated and comparatively unimportant. They have not seen each as an expression of love, and of a love so powerful that the distant is brought near and the two become one passion. The second commandment has not as yet been lifted for them to a place beside the first, and they do not realize that the love of God reaches out powerfully to every interest of human life and against everything that affects the welfare of people unfavorably. They have not attained that most wonderful of human experi-

ences in which one realizes the unity and sacredness of life as he once realized God; in which every human interest glows with a marvelous light, and the spiritual and material are fused by a power of love, even as a man and a woman become one body by a great affection.

The religion of the future will be just this understanding and relationship to God, just this attitude toward life; and those who attain it have entered into the life of the Kingdom of God. To lift the church over from its unreal theology, from the cataclysmic ideas of the millenarians, from the one-sided mysticism and excessive individualism of the past, into the comprehensive, sympathetic, hopeful, wide-as-the-world program of the Kingdom of God is the great educational task of the immediate future.

The place of the church is in the thick of the coming social movement. If it could do exactly what it ought to do, it would be its herald and teacher. Let us hope that such it will soon become. Our seminaries are sending out socially trained ministers, denominational leaders of religious education are building the great idea into the curricula of the Sunday schools, and the religious press is becoming highly socialized. If the church is able finally to perform this one service of social education well, it has made its greatest contribution to the coming social order.

If possible, the fellowship and tolerance of the church should be broad enough to make a place for each of the two great wings of social thinking, those who rally respectively about the British and about the Russian ideas. Not only is the need of the church too great for the two to waste their strength against

each other, but the church is an organization whose fellowship should be as broad as the entire division of labor of the social movement. We shall have a hard test here, especially the ministers: to speak and write our divergent convictions and to work with all our power, and yet to be brotherly and respectful of one another.

But religious education in social service is not enough; the church must enter into the social movement with all the power of its organized agencies, its 228,000 local churches, its colleges, hospitals, and benevolent institutions, its great denominational and interchurch societies. The world needs all of these at maximum capacity.

It is impossible here to discuss these fields of effort in any detail. One can but sketch the outlines of the picture and leave it to be filled in by the experiences of the readers. This much can be said: society wants all of these churches open

seven days a week and used to capacity as religious social centers for neighborhoods. Communities want their churches organized for social service and then federated to work effectively with other civic, industrial, and benevolent agencies at the problems of community welfare. The nation wants a new unity of religious consciousness and organization, so that in the future the full influence of these bodies can be thrown back of national causes as they have been during the war.

This means an end of denominational rivalries and jealousies and wasteful competition, and a new era of Christian union; first the union of comity and cooperation based upon whole-hearted federation, then the actual union of denominational families, possibly finally a more complete organic union of the Protestant churches; but when we federate we shall have effective union, and we shall escape much of the humiliation and wastefulness of a divided Christendom.